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372 two stones; the technique of making fire by the friction of two sticks was unknown.[1] The Tukuna described to me, also, how the ancients struck two stones (tɔ'a-ɛ̃i̯ˀ'ɨ̃) together, catching the sparks in tinder of *taracuá*, a substance found in the nests of *tracuá* ants.

[824] Some, however, still remember well the fire drill used for this purpose, which was made of white *envira* wood. The drill was a rod about sixty centimeters long, or a shorter piece enclosed in a stem of *canna brava*. The hearth was a small board of the same wood, which rested on two small sticks. The drill, rotated between the palms of the hands, pierced the little board, and the glowing powder fell through the hole upon the tinder beneath. This apparatus, say the Tukuna, was invented by the culture hero dyɔi'.

[237] Today, a wing of a parrot, forest turkey, buzzard, or royal hawk serves as a fire
[412] fan; the shaft is sometimes wrapped in a piece of cloth and covered with wax. Among the Tukuna I have never seen any fire fans of vegetable material, but the Neobrazilians and the Kokáma use them exclusively.

All the members of the family capable of working in the garden patch always bring kindling wood when they return. If, in spite of this, there is no kindling, special trips are made for it.

[412] Fire tongs are unknown, but once I came across a sort of fork, formed of three
[252] branches stemming from a single point, which served to arrange the coals and to place upon them a piece of meat for roasting. The fork was especially made for this purpose and had already been in use for some time.

352 The platform supported on four stakes is never found in the kitchen where things are laid on the ground or are hung from wooden N-shaped hooks thrust into the roof thatch. These hooks sometimes end in a bird's head and are called vɛˀkɨ'ča (see p. 142). Some of the kitchens, however, have a small platform suspended from the roof, on which dried meat, bananas, and other foods are stored.

[415] Jugs, bowls, and plates have their places on an outside platform (giráu), at the side of the shed. The jars (l.g., *igaçabas*), even when empty, are kept in the kitchen. They are turned upside down when not in use, and it is customary to store fruits, and so forth, under them in order to keep the food away from domestic animals and bats.

312 Although the Tukuna habitually obtain their drinking and cooking water from a clean spot, such as the center of the current, it bothers them little if the filled containers remain for hours exposed to the rays of the burning sun. They drink
[271] little water, and one often finds the containers empty, but no one seems to feel the lack.

Utensils and containers.—All the Tukuna gourds, *cuias*, are made of shell of the
415 gourd (*cuieira*) and are generally covered on the inner surface, or in a few rare
[386] instances on the outer surface as well, with a black lacquer of *cumatê* juice (fig. 2, *a*, *b*). Sometimes the outer surface is decorated with an indelible redpaint, *urucú*,
[531] in a design of palm trees and animals. There are large hemispherical gourds, smaller elliptical ones, and little, narrow, long ones.

In the kitchen one always finds a number of wooden ladles and spoons, sometimes of a respectable size containing almost a half liter; these represent a post-Columbian

[1] Teschauer, p. 561.

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412 pots. Fermented drinks are often stirred with a shoulder blade of the manatee, *peixe-boi*. For *mingau*, a sweetened gruel, there is always a little swizzle stick made of arrow cane with a small cross of sticks lashed transversely to the end of the shaft.

415 The Tukuna still use three types of "primitive" containers. One consists of the outer shell of the *sacupaia* nut in its original form. Another is made from the spatulate end of the frondstalk of the *onajá* palm, which has the shape of an oval basin with noticeably raised edges; nothing is done to this either, to prepare it for use. A third is made from the leaf sheath of the *açaky* palm,[6] which is folded into the shape of a small, flat, rectangular box, about a half meter long, the folds being secured with two small, wooden spits.

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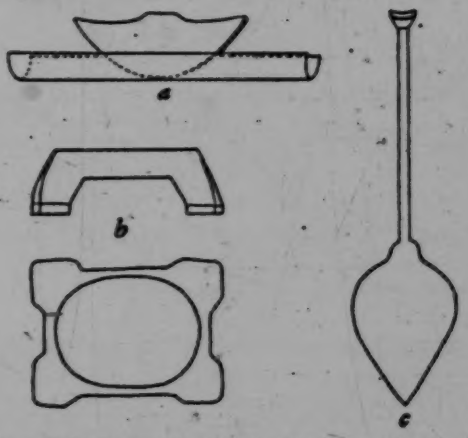

Fig. 4. Wooden objects. a. Quiricá or rocking-board, × 1/20. b. Small bench, × 1/10. c. Paddle, × 1/20.

417 By the side of the kitchen fire one invariably sees a portable rack, *moquem*, for
252 drying meat, made of three poles, each 1.5 m. long, tied together at the upper ends so as to form a tripod (kɔ'ya-čik|ra', jaw of alligator), between the legs of which the grill is tied. Any meat or fish to be dried is placed on this grill, which is then set over the fire or, if this is occupied, any handy kindling is piled beneath the tripod. Only if there is a large quantity of game or fish is a fixed grill set up, in which case it rests upon four posts and two crossbeams (na:'/tamj[a]).

The spit is rarely used, and then only to roast bits of small game. In order to handle fish easily on the grill the Tukuna press it between two prongs of a flat strip of wood, something like a pair of pincers. The prongs are passed through the fish's mouth and gills, and the ends are tied together just forward of the tail. Frogs, toads, Coleoptera larvae, shrimp, and small fry are placed on the grill wrapped in leaves, forming small packages tied at both ends.

412 Contrary to what Tessmann says,[7] the Tukuna do not use the mortar, though it
[773] does appear in their legends as an object used by demons. For it the Tukuna substitute a rocking-board (tau/ta'-činç[a]ç[a]; l.g., *quiricá*) of half-moon shape made

[6] *Euterpe edulis*; also, *assaky, palmito doce*. The heart of this palm is eaten.
[7] Tessmann, *loc. cit.*

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of a heavy wood, *cumarú;* it is two fingers thick and as much as 80 cm. long (fig. 4, *a*), and with it they crush and mill the material in a long semicylindrical trough (tau/ta'), sometimes open at both ends. In this hod they often work with a short wooden pestle; I saw one which ended at the top in a sculptured human head.

The cook shed is also the place where they make dry manioc flour, *farinha de mandioca*, which is probably the Tukuna product most desired by the Neobrazilians today. Formerly, the Tukuna did not know how to use it, but for dry flour substituted *beijú*, a thin flat cake of fermented manioc dough baked on a clay slab. They also had a flour made of maize cracked by the heat of fire,[18] which went by the name of a/tẽ'ẽ and was eaten with bananas.

The Neobrazilians probably taught the Tukuna how to make manioc dry flour, since so many of the Tukuna terms relating to it are Neobrazilian, for instance, the name of the product, ʊ:'i (l.g., *uí*), and of the utensils used in its manufacture: e.g., yapu'na, oven (l.g., *yapúna*), te'piti, press (l.g., *tipity*), kučʊ, hod for the dough (P., *cocho*).

I do not know what shape the earlier grater had; today it is invariably made of a punctured sheet of metal. There are still small graters which are made from the aerial root of the *paxiubinha*, and others made from the bony part of the tongue of the pirarucú, but they are no good for grating manioc roots; they are useful only in the preparation of certain medicines.

Like any other load, the manioc roots are brought from the garden patch in large conical baskets (pl. 4). These are made by the men—who, however, never use them—in an open-mesh technique, usually of split *cipó*, more rarely of uarumã stems. The Tukuna say that they learned to make this type of basket (vo'tura; Tupi, *waturá*) from the Omágua, who then made war against the Tukuna for copying an Omágua article. Formerly the Tukuna baskets were cylindrical, with a square bottom. All are carried with a tumpline of envira. Baskets of both types are in use today, although the first type predominates.

Aside from these carrying baskets, the Tukuna also have a large woven bag, ñẽ'/rį, closed by a drawstring passed through the mesh row of the opening; it often has a tumpline woven of the same material (pl. 7, *e*). This bag, *puçá*, with the mouth held open by a hoop of cipó or of elastic wood, also serves as a dip net. It is mentioned in the legend of the origin of culture heroes as one of two articles typically used by women and is one of the elements which the Tukuna share with the cultures of eastern Brazil and the Chaco.

Formerly, the Tukuna peeled manioc roots with the edge of a large bivalve shell, koru, common along the Solimões. This is used even today to scrape pineapples for the preparation of a cooling drink.

For soaking bundles of manioc roots in plain water the Tukuna invariably use an old canoe near the entrance to the house. The squeezed pulp from the press (tipity) is placed in a hod, open at both ends and set slightly inclined on two sawhorses. Nowadays, the Tukuna make "dry" farinha just as much as "wet"; they rarely bother with tapioca. The pulp is strained through square, large-meshed sieves made of strips of bamboo, *taboca*, or uarumã (ʊ:'i-čim|/|ⁿn).

For other purposes there is a small fine-meshed sieve, va'ira-čin|/|ⁿũ (*váira*,

[18] The word for popcorn, *pipocas*, was not used here.—Trans.

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264 into the common vessel. This gesture is as common as the pinch of the fingers. The Tukuna eat neither avidly nor hastily. During and after the meal they belch unreservedly and with evident satisfaction. Each one gets up when satisfied, goes to the platform where the water jugs are kept, washes his hands and mouth, and takes a swallow.

252 262 When the fish or meat have been on the smoking-rack (moquem) for many days and have thus become too hard, they are cooked with scraped green bananas until the mess completely disintegrates, the whole turning into a coarse pap (l.g., *mogica*). These are the two main foods.

Aside from these regular meals, however, someone frequently prepares a little snack over the kitchen fire, roasting either on the coals or on a spit a green banana, an ear of maize, sweet manioc root or yam tuber, or even, on the grill, bundles of green leaves containing a frog, a handful of beetle larvae, or minnows. The yam, especially, may be called the bread of the Tukuna.

Beverages

272 I have already mentioned the beverages prepared from the fruits of the burity, bacabeira, patauá, and açahy palms. Later on we shall see the great importance of fermented drinks in the social and economic life of the Tukuna, as well as the injurious effects of intoxication, their one vice.

273 There are three principal fermented drinks for ceremonies: (1) čavị-čị'ị, a maize drink (l.g., chicha); (2) čaị*, from boiled sweet manioc (l.g., *caiçuma*); (3) pa'yavaru, from burned manioc flat cakes (l.g., *paiauará*).

[114] [177] The first and second are pre-Columbian. Tessman's statement that the Tukuna do not use beverages made of maize is erroneous. The paiauará was probably adopted from the Neobrazilian population which speaks the lingua geral; it is little used by the Neobrazilians of today.

For chicha, dry, ripe maize is pounded by the rocking-board; water is placed to heat over the fire and, when it boils, the meal is slowly dropped in and constantly stirred. It is permitted to boil until it becomes soft, when it is removed from the fire. A mouthful of a certain, special kind of sweet potato (*Batatas edulis* or *Ipomoea batatas*) is masticated and placed on top of the boiled maize, but without mixing it. Only after the mass of potato has settled is the combination stirred [237] with a spatula made from the shoulder blade of a manatee (T., kə'ruvë). The person who chews the sweet potato first washes his mouth and chews the leaves of a plant called və'ča, which stings the mouth and lips, turning them and the tongue black. Finally, the liquid is strained through a sieve into a jar, where it remains. Generally, it will have turned potent by the following day.

To prepare caiçuma, the Tukuna peel a sweet manioc tuber, cut it into small pieces, and crush it to a pulp with the rocking-board. To the mass they add a gourdful of sweet potato and strain it through a sieve into a jar. A little cane molasses speeds up the fermentation.

Paiauará is made in the following way. A sufficient quantity of manioc cakes is made, the cakes being baked in the oven until slightly burnt on the surface, when they are placed in a wide-meshed basket and dipped for an instant into hot water. The dough, about two or three fingers thick, is then spread out on banana

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881 773 539 o) A girl was in seclusion; a feast was about to be celebrated. Aside from her, there was no one in the house. In the kitchen there lay beneath a cover on the platform (girãu) all the smoked game for the feast. Suddenly, through a crack in the wall of her room, the vərëkị observed a smoked monkey descend from the platform. Seizing a blowgun, it began to dance with this up and down the kitchen. Then a roasted sloth also clambered down, going first to the fireplace to warm itself, then it searched for the rattle stick, which was already prepared for the feast, and in its turn began to dance to and fro. After some time both returned to the platform.

As soon as her mother returned to the house, the vərëkị told her what she had seen. The mother went to the smoked meat on the platform, examined the sloth, and, seeing that it was dirty with ashes, believed what her daughter had told her. "Nothing like this has ever happened before; I believe that you are going to die!" she said to her daughter. And sure enough, the following morning the girl lay dead in her seclusion room.

342 881 [616] Formerly, a small room, na-pi'i' (pl. 11, a) was made for the girl as soon as possible, against the east wall of the house if she belonged to moiety A, against the west wall if she belonged to moiety B. This little retreat was circular, two meters in diameter or a little more, and had no floor, since the vərëkị sleeps in her hammock throughout her seclusion. The walls are made of long, white strips of burity, tied with cipó firmly together in horizontal bands. These extend from the floor to the roof thatch, where their tips are bent toward the front. On the left side (looking at the room) there is a door, closed by a kind of hanging mat made from [285] burity frondstalks set in a horizontal position and held firm by two vertical rods. Often today the seclusion room is square and is not erected where it should be, because the position of the house on the banks of the Solimões or igapó does not permit it. In general, to make such a room, people are called together for a work [476] party (uajurí) to which, above all, members of the clans of the vərëkị's moiety are invited.

881 *Preparations for the feast.*—The preparations for the feast which now begins may take more than two months, sometimes requiring even one or two more work parties. Nowadays, what really delays completion of the preparations is the difficulty of collecting a sufficient quantity of smoked game for the number of guests; [136] game is now rare in the country (p. 26), and even fish are not caught easily.

[252] The game is roasted on a forked grill, first in the jungle and later in the kitchen, where it is then stored on its own large, covered platform. When the last pieces arrive, the first are already desiccated to the point where they more or less resemble charred wood. At the same time, the women prepare alcoholic drinks, of [273] which a sufficient quantity is required not only for the feast itself but also for the preliminary work party. In the meantime the date of the celebration must be calculated, so that the invitations may be issued.

881 574 *Invitations.*—Two invitations are given for any celebration: the first advising of the approximate time with relation to the phase of the moon ("in the first full moon"), the other fixing the exact day that the ceremony begins. Feasts are preferably held during the full moon, not because any magical influence is attributed to it but simply because it is much more agreeable to have the house and yard of the ceremony flooded with moonlight than plunged in darkness.

881 574 202 Invitations are delivered personally by the host, that is, by the vərëkị's father or by a person especially charged by him. The messenger travels from house to house informing the residents that the celebration is drawing near and that the

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CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main *Tucuna* crops are bitter manioc, sweet manioc (macaxera), cara (*Dioscorea*), and maize. The last is planted with some ceremony. There are also at least three species of edible tubers which are not used by civilized people.

226 227 **Fishing and hunting.**—Fish, of great importance to the *Tucuna*, are taken with four- to nine-pronged javelins, arrows, harpoon arrows, baskets, weirs, traps, and a drug made of timbó. The Indians fish almost daily from childhood. On the Solimões, they are expert fishers of pirarucú, an important article of commerce.

224 177 411 Hunting today is unimportant, since game has been depleted to fill the demand for hides. The *Tucuna* now use firearms, but formerly employed the bow and arrow, spear, and blowgun. They also use pitfalls and several types of snares and traps. The blowgun, once the principal weapon, is disappearing.

222 262 [245] **Gathering.**—The wild burity, bacaba, patauá, and açahy palms are of great economic value. Some *Tucuna* plant Brazil nut trees near their houses. They eat certain frogs, Coleoptera larvae, and female red ants at hiving time. They like wild honey but keep no bees.

231 **Domesticated animals.**—The *Tucuna* raise a few chickens, but do not want hogs or other domestic animals because they dirty the premises. They keep young wild mammals and birds uncaged.

412 252 [177] [434] **Food preparation.**—Instead of a mortar, the *Tucuna* use a trough with a half-moon-shaped rocker of thick and heavy wood.

The making of manioc flour, introduced by the Neo-Brazilians, became one of the principal sources of income among the *Tucuna*.

HOUSES

342 The old houses had a small rectangular central portion with a short ridge pole mounted on props. Each end was semicircular, so that the ground plan was oval or nearly round. The walls were of a man's height, and were made of boards of paxiuba or of straw. The house could be sealed tight against mosquitoes. Families occupied the lateral corridors, the central space being reserved for ceremonies. All houses were spacious and well built.

177 342 352 513 The introduction of mosquito nets made house walls unnecessary. People slept on bunks along the walls, covered with mosquito nets, instead of in hammocks. Many houses were built without the semicircular extremities but with a longer central part, being like an open rectangular ranch house with a ridge pole. When the tribe occupied the flood plains of the shores and islands, they built houses on piles.